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〔論 説〕

Before the Meirindō: Investigating the Early History of Education in Owari Domain

Zenan SHU

A substantial body of research exists on the domain school in Owari, the Meirindō 明倫堂, and rightly so, since it is one of the better-known such schools, and important in the history of Japanese education. Worth particular mention as secondary sources are the *Aichi-ken kyōikushi* 愛知県教育史 and *Nagoyashi shi: Gakugei hen* 名古屋市史——學藝編, both of which include detailed accounts of the actual founding of the school.⁽¹⁾ However, the emphasis of this previous work has been mostly on political and economic history. Very little has been done from the perspective of educational history, and on earlier developments relating to education in Owari long before the Meirindō was first founded in 1749, and how this was related to Bakufu education policy.

The current study will seek to fill this gap by illuminating aspects of education in Owari long before the founding of the Meirindō, and doing so within the context of the Bakufu system, in particular how events in Owari link to the development of the Bakufu educational system related to the Yushima Seidō school in Edo. Specifically, we will examine the creation of the Confucius temple in the Hayashi school at Shinobugaoka, forerunner of the Yushima Seidō, by the first Owari daimyo Tokugawa Yoshinao; the relations between him and Hayashi Razan; and the continuing associations between Yoshinao's descendants and three generations of the Hayashi family into the early eighteenth century.

Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川 義直 (1601 – 1650; r. 1603 – 1650), ninth son of the founding Shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu 家康 (1543–1616) and the first lord of Owari domain, had many interactions with the Confucian Hayashi Razan 林 羅山 (1583–1657), ancestor of the Hayashi heads of the Bakufu school in later times. The most notable event in their association came immediately after the founding of the first Hayashi school and library in the winter of 1630 at Shinobugaoka 忍岡 in Edo, with land and funds for the buildings provided by the Bakufu. In 1632 Yoshinao constructed a new Confucius temple for Razan on this site, and personally wrote a plaque with the temple name “Senseiden” 先聖殿 (‘Hall of the Former Sages’) to be displayed upon it. He also contributed statue images of Confucius and the four correlates, as well as the ritual vessels to be used in the temple sacrifices.⁽²⁾ In the following year, on 1633/2/10, Razan first performed the

(1) Aichi-ken Kyōiku Iinkai 愛知県教育委員会, *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* 愛知県教育史 vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1973); Nagoyashi 名古屋市, *Nagoyashi shi* 名古屋市史 vol. 10 (Nagoya: Nagoyashi, 1915).

Sekiten 積奠 sacrificial ceremony in the Senseiden temple.

At this time, little more than thirty years after the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate, it is striking to find such an association between two people of such different rank, one a son of the founding Shōgun, the other a commoner who was no more than a minor functionary in the Bakufu. Why would Yoshinao have provided the Senseiden Confucius temple for Razan, and what was it that brought them into contact?

Yoshinao had taken over his first rulership, in the 250,000 *koku* domain of Kōfu 甲府, in the first month of 1603 at the age of three *sai*. In 1607 he was transferred to Castellan (Jōshu 城主) of Kiyosu 清洲 Castle in Owari, then became daimyo of Nagoya (Owari) domain in 1610, both at 530,000 *koku*. Until 1616, when he entered Nagoya for the first time, he was raised directly by Ieyasu.⁽³⁾ It is quite possible that Yoshinao was present when Razan lectured on Confucian learning in Fushimi after meeting Ieyasu for the first time in 1605,⁽⁴⁾ and that his future support for Razan and Confucian learning started from this. We do know that Yoshinao was well educated, though as far as I am aware there are no clear records of what he actually studied, or whether any of it came from Razan. However, from Hayashi family documents we do get glimpses of Yoshinao's interactions with Razan, and also with his son, Hayashi Gahō 林 鶯峰 (1618–1680).

Razan died in the first month of 1657, and Gahō succeeded him as Hayashi family head. In his diary *Kokushikan nichiroku* 国史館日録, Gahō mentions Razan's interactions with Yoshinao, including how Yoshinao gave the Senseiden temple to the Hayashi family:

For my efforts in completing the lectures on the entire Five [Confucian] Canons, I was granted the official title Kōbun'in Scholar (Kōbun'in Gakushi 弘文院學士). The document of investiture was signed by [Sakai] Tadakiyo 酒井 忠清, [Abe] Tada'aki 阿部 忠秋, [Inaba] Tadanori 稻葉 正則, and [Kuze] Hiroyuki 久世 廣之. The villa at Shinobugaoka was renamed the Kōbun'in. In it is a Hall to the Sage (Seidō 聖堂). This was founded by my late father, and first built by the late Marquis of Biyō, Genkei (Biyō kō Genkei 尾陽侯源敬, Yoshinao). In recent years it was rebuilt at official [Bakufu] command.⁽⁵⁾

This account is dated the fourth month of 1663. It records the official notification to

(2) As described by Razan; see his "Bushū Senseiden keishi 武州先聖殿經始," in *Razan sensei bunshū* 羅山先生文集 vol. 2 (Kyoto: Heian Kōko Gakkai 平安考古学会, 1918), pp. 321–2.

(3) See Tokugawa Reimeikai Tokugawa Rinseishi Kenkyūjo 徳川黎明会徳川林政史研究所 comp., *Genkei sama godai gokiroku* 源敬様御代御記録 vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yagishoten Kosho Shuppanbu 八木書店古書出版部, 2015).

(4) For Razan's association with Ieyasu see Hori Isao 堀 勇雄, *Hayashi Razan* 林羅山 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990).

(5) *Kokushikan nichiroku* 国史館日録, ed. and comp. Yamamoto Takeo 山本 武夫, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Zokugunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1997), p. 2.

Gahō that the Bakufu had given him the Kōbun'in Scholar title, and renamed his school and residence the Kōbun'in, all of which in fact had been decided the previous year. For Gahō, this honour was unexpected and a source of great joy.⁽⁶⁾ In reflecting on his success, he was reminded of the fact that it was Yoshinao who had given his family the Confucius temple at Shinobugaoka. It appears that he felt that if Yoshinao had not done so, there would have been no venue for performing the Sekiten to the ancestral teacher Confucius and the other ancient Confucian sages in their family school at Shinobugaoka, and that without this the school might have developed in rather different form.

Gahō also records interactions between Yoshinao and Razan, and with Gahō himself:

The Chief Councillor (Ashō 垂相, alternate title for Dainagon 大納言, i.e. Yoshinao) treated my late father with great generosity, and was also very kind to me... This Hall of the Sage was originally built by the Chief Councillor, and the statue images of the Sage, the Four Correlates, the platters and trays, cups and urns (ritual food vessels used in the sacrifice) were all contributed by him. Down to all our descendants we must never neglect [our gratitude] to him.⁽⁷⁾

In respect of the design and architecture of the temple building itself, Gahō wrote the following:

Our Hall of the Sage was built more than thirty years ago by the late Chief Councillor of Owari (Yoshinao) modelled on the form of the Octagonal Palace (Gōkyū 合宮) of the Yellow Emperor.⁽⁸⁾ The Hall of the Sage in the Ashikaga [School] came from a new diagram by Governor I[inoue] of Kawa[chi] drawn in accordance with the “Explication of Halls and Buildings” (“Dianwu shuo” 殿屋説) in the *Shushi taizen* (the Chinese text *Zhuzi daquan* 朱子大全, the complete compendium of Zhu Xi's writings).⁽⁹⁾ I have heard that the temple of the late Middle Councillor of Mito (Tokugawa Yorifusa 徳川 頼房, 1603–1661) follows Master Shu's (Zhu Xi's) “Explication”, which I

(6) For further details on the background of Gahō's title of Kōbun'in Scholar, see Zenan Shu, “Kōbun'in Gakushigō shutoku ni miru Rinke no taimō: Bakufu bunkyō shisaku to no kanrensei no shiten kara 弘文院 学士号取得にみる林家の大望——幕府文教施策との関連性の視点から,” Chiba Shōdai Kiyō 千葉商大紀要 50.1 (2012), pp. 21–35.

(7) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 1, p. 161, entry under the last day of the 11th month, 1665.

(8) In Chinese tradition, the Octagonal Palace (Gōkyū, or Hegong in Chinese), was said to be the equivalent of the “Bright Hall” (Mingtang 明堂) of the Zhou period and later times.

(9) “Governor I[inoue] of Kawa[chij]” (Seikaboku 井河牧, or Kaboku 河牧) was Inoue Masatoshi 井上 正利 (1606–1675). For a description of the names and titles Gahō employs for various Bakufu officials, see Zenan Shu, “Edo shoki Bakufu no bunkyō taisei ni okeru Rinke no yakuwari: Rinke to Daimyō, Bakukaku to no kōsai o tōshite 江戸初期幕府の文教態勢における林家の役割——林家と大名・幕閣との交際を通して,” Chiba Shōdai Kiyō 千葉商大紀要 48.2 (2011), pp. 1–12.

imagine in turn was based on [Zhu Xi's] investigation of descriptions of ancient halls and large buildings, consisting of inner chamber, side apartments, two pillars, and two sets of steps. For a school [these designs] are acceptable, but are they in accord with ancient [Chinese] ritual for the design of ancestor halls and temples? Or, [as one finds] investigating in the *Ketsurishi* (*Quelizhi* 闕里誌), it is not necessary for Confucius temples to accord with this? When our temple was constructed, the *Ketsurishi* had not yet reached our country, and the *Shushi taizen* could not be found to consult. The late Chief Councillor constructed [the temple] in imitation of the diagram of the [Yellow Emperor's] Octagonal Palace in the *Sansai zue* (the Chinese text *Sancai tuihui* 三才圖會). Most likely he wanted its design to be out of the ordinary, and unlike a Buddhist temple. In the current situation [of the Ashikaga School temple], the Governor of Kawa[chi], following texts like the *Reigaku so* 禮樂疏 (probably the Chinese text *Pangong liyue shu* 頓宮禮樂疏, which contains material related to schools and the Shidian sacrifices to Confucius) and *Rikkeizu* (the Chinese text *Liujing tu* 六經圖), has fashioned new *ho* 簠, *ki* 簋, and *hen* 簋 [ritual vessels], all largely in conformity with ancient designs, and we should praise him for this. When our temple was first constructed, the *Reigaku so* and *Rikkeizu* had not yet come across [to Japan], and the design of our sacrificial vessels was not good. Among these, we have now refashioned the *hen* vessel, and the Governor of Kawa[chi] was going to give us *ho*, *ki*, and *tō* 豆 vessels, but has not yet done so. If there is further delay, we can borrow the ones he has made and [copy them to] fashion new ones of our own. I also thought of the design of the ancient Academy (Daigakuryō 大學寮) and its ritual vessels in Japan; we do not know if any of these vessels still survive at the imperial court. The Academy has been closed since the Angen 安元 period (1175–1177), and the Sekiten not carried out since the Ōnin 應仁 period (1467–1469), so it is inevitable that temple plan drawings and ritual vessels have been lost. The Ashikaga School was controlled by Buddhists for more than a century, so it is fortunate that the Governor of No[to] became the ruler of their territory and accomplished the current restoration.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Governor of Kawa[chi] has acceded to the Governor of No[to]'s request, and the temple design and ritual vessels are more complete, but the Buddhists are still in control as before. The declaration and invocation texts [for the Sekiten ritual] have all come from my hand, which is not entirely a good thing. At least it is fortunate that the old foundations have survived, if only barely. When I have returned and have time, I will order Sekishū 石習 to record a summary of all this from beginning to end, as testimony for the future.⁽¹¹⁾

(10) The "Governor of No[to]" (Nōboku 能牧) was Dōi Toshifusa 土井 利房 (1631–1683), who at that time was serving as junior minister (Wakadoshiyori 若年寄) in the Bakufu.

(11) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 3 (Tokyo: Zokugunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1998), pp. 75–6. Sekishū must have been one of Gahō's students, but I have been unable to identify him.

The main source on how Yoshinao provided the Senseiden temple to Razan is, as far as I am aware, Razan's detailed "Bushū Senseiden keishi" 武州先聖殿經始 cited above, but from this additional account by Gahō we learn that the design of the original Senseiden was based on the octagonal "Hegongtu" 合宮圖 building illustration in the Chinese compendium *Sancai tuhui*. Gahō's account dates from the beginning of the fourth month of 1668, and the version of the Chinese text *Quelizhi* mentioned by him was published in China during the Chongzhen 崇禎 era (1627–1644). This text includes an account of a major four-year refurbishment of the original ancestral temple to Confucius in his native Qufu between 1500 and 1504, and much other material, such as a biography of Confucius, drawings of the temple to Confucius at Qufu, and the content of the ritual and music used in the Shidian (Sekiten) sacrifice there. Yoshinao could not have known of the *Quelizhi* when he designed and built the Hayashi Senseiden temple in 1632, since it was not published in Japan until 1669.⁽¹²⁾

Gahō's diary reveals the origins of the architecture of the Senseiden, and of other Confucius temples existing elsewhere at the time. His mention of the *Quelizhi* as a significant source for Confucius temple design shows that the text had by then reached Japan. That the Kong Yinzhi recompilation of the work was printed in Japan in the next year, so soon after its composition in China, shows that there was sufficient demand for it to make the costly publication of it worthwhile. This suggests that increasing numbers of people in Japan were developing an interest in schools, temples, and Confucian learning at that time.

Tokugawa Mitsutomo 光友 (1625–1700; r. 1650–1693) succeeded as the second ruler of Owari in 1650 upon the death of his father Yoshinao, and ruled until he abdicated in favour of his son Tsunanari 綱誠 (1651–1699) in 1693, only for the latter to die in 1699. Mitsutomo himself died the next year, in 1700.⁽¹³⁾

Meanwhile, in the Hayashi family, Razan had died in 1657, and Gahō replaced him as family head. As Gahō achieved success in pushing the status of the Hayashi family in the Bakufu ever higher, he revised and enhanced the Sekiten ceremony in the

(12) The *Queli zhi* is a local history of Queli, the birthplace of Confucius, an extensive compendium of materials related to the area, and to Confucius, initially compiled by one Chen Hao 陳鏞 (d. 1511, Jinshi degree 1487). Chen was instructed to compile a record in 1504, after the sacrifices conducted at the conclusion of the four-year refurbishment of the temple to Confucius in Qufu. The text was subsequently edited and supplemented by Kong Yinzhi 孔胤植 (1592–1647), who was acknowledged to be the sixty-fifth generation descendant of Confucius, and it is this version of the text completed in the Chongzhen era that has circulated since, and the one printed in Japan in 1669. The *Queli zhi* has received relatively little attention from modern scholars; one short study of it in Chinese is Yang Xiujuan 楊秀娟, "Queli zhi: yibu Kongshi jiazushi 阙里志：一部孔氏家族史," *Qufu Shifan Daxue Xuebao* 曲阜师范大学学报 30 (2013).

(13) *Sansei kijiryaku* 三世紀事略, in Nagoyashi Kyōiku Iinkai 名古屋市教育委員会 comp., *Nagoya sōsho* 名古屋叢書 vol. 5 (Nagoya: Nagoyashi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1962).

Senseiden, with the addition of music in 1666, in a conscious effort to enhance its scale and influence. At the same time, he actively cultivated personal relationships with people in the Bakufu, building friendships with members of the Rōjū and daimyo.⁽¹⁴⁾

As a result of these efforts on Gahō's part, the prestige and status of the Hayashi family in the Bakufu gradually rose. In 1662, the Shōgun Ietsuna sent an order through the Rōjū counsellor Sakai Tadakiyo 酒井 忠清 that the history compilation project originally entrusted to Razan, abruptly cut off when his *Honchō hennenroku* 本朝編年録 text was destroyed in the great Meireki fire of 1657, was to be revived, and turned over to Gahō. A new "National History Hall" (Kokushikan 国史館) was created by the Bakufu on the grounds of the Shinobugaoka school, and Gahō began his *Kokushikan nichiroku* diary. Right from the start Gahō includes mention of his interactions with Mitsutomo and Tsunanari.⁽¹⁵⁾

Then, in the next year 1663, the Bakufu gave Gahō the title of Kōbun'in Scholar. This was purely an honorary title, not an official post, but in a time where no civil (or non-military) posts existed within the Bakufu bureaucracy, this was a break with precedent. Much later on, in 1691, Gahō's son and successor as third family head, Hayashi Hōkō 鳳岡, was to be appointed to a formal official post in the Bakufu, Head of the Academy (Daigaku no kami 大学頭).

It was not only Razan's *Honchō hennenroku* history text that had been lost in the Meireki blaze of 1657; the entirety of his book collection was destroyed. This was a terrible blow for Razan, and he died only four days later.⁽¹⁶⁾ Both he and Yoshinao were now gone, but the association between the two families would continue for a long time afterward between their descendants.

For example, in his descriptions of the sources for the *Honchō tsugan* project, Gahō records in his diary rare books he obtained from Yoshinao's collection, in particular three examples which he says were in Mitsutomo's possession. On 1664/11/21 he says:

The Councillor (Sangi 参議) of Mito, Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川 光圀, borrowed a full text of the Ōkagami 大鏡. This is a hand copy of the printing by Nakahara no Moromitsu 中原 師光 (1206–1265),⁽¹⁷⁾ collated with other versions and unlisted texts, and is far superior to other editions in circulation. It is in the collection of the late

(14) See notes 6 and 9 above.

(15) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 1, p. 1. The *Honchō hennenroku* history compilation project had been entrusted to Razan by the third Shōgun Iemitsu in 1644, to cover the period from the first emperor Jinmu 神武 (traditionally said to have ruled 660–585 BCE) to Emperor Uda 宇多 (r. 867–931). Gahō assisted Razan in the work. After the project was revived in 1662, Gahō proposed in 1664 that the title be changed to *Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑑, most likely with the Chinese *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 in mind; this change was approved by the Bakufu.

(16) See the account of the fire and Razan's death in Hori Isao, *Hayashi Razan*, pp. 434–6.

(17) Moromitsu was an official and noted poet of the late Kamakura period.

Chief Councillor of Owari (Yoshinao), held in secret by the current Attendant (Mitsutomo), and the Councillor (Mitsukuni) borrowed it after making earnest entreaties. Though [Mitsutomo] would not allow it to be shown to anyone, I was secretly permitted to borrow it because I knew of its source. This is truly a fine edition rarely seen in the world.⁽¹⁸⁾

On 1664/11/26 Gahō writes:

Matsudaira, Lord of Kai (Matsudaira Kai no kami 松平甲斐守, Matsudaira Terutsuna 輝綱, 1670–1672), was able to borrow the *Tōshō Shinkun go'nenpu* 東照神君御年譜 (chronological history of Tokugawa Ieyasu) compiled by the late Chief Councillor (Yoshinao), with a preface by my late father. This text is held in secret, not made available [to anyone]. My late father had copied it out, but this copy was destroyed in the disaster of 1657. Though the current Attendant of Owari (Mitsutomo) is averse to letting others see this text, I knew that Terutsuna had obtained it, so I yesterday I sent word through a messenger to borrow it in secret.⁽¹⁹⁾

On 1665/1/9 he says:

Of the books held by the Attendant of Owari (Mitsutomo), there are only five or six I have not seen. The late Chief Councillor (Yoshinao) collected an enormous number of books, and engaged in compilation and editing of his own deeds for many years. The current Attendant keeps all of these in secret and will not reveal them, hence I have never seen a catalogue.⁽²⁰⁾

From these three examples it is evident that Mitsutomo took great care to preserve Yoshinao's collection, and had adopted a policy of never lending any texts from it to outsiders. This suggests that he regarded the contents of Yoshinao's books as being of value and worth guarding.

However, another account from the Owari domain retainer Hori Sadataka 堀 貞高 (1624–1695), more commonly known as Hori Bōsai 忘斎, tells a somewhat different story. Bōsai was the second son of the Owari Confucian retainer Hori Kyō'an 杏庵, who had been a fellow student of Razan under Fujiwara Seika. Gahō records a visit from Bōsai at the end of the 11th month of 1665:

Hori Kanbei Sadataka 堀勘兵衛貞高 came to converse about old times, and we also

(18) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 1, p. 39.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 43.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 66.

spoke of the national history project. He did not return home until early evening. He is a domain retainer in Biyō (Owari), and his father Kyō'an Sei'i was a renowned Confucian scholar and physician. Sadataka once served the late Chief Councillor of Biyō (Yoshinao), and saw many of the events of the domain. He was in attendance [on Yoshinao] day and night, and so was present and heard various matters related to the early achievements when the domain was founded. The current Attendant (Mitsutomo) is not fond of writing, and [Sadataka] does not wait in personal attendance upon him, but now only serves in his night guard. The Chief Councillor treated my late father with great generosity, and I also received his kindness, but now in the Attendant's reign he has not consulted me, so I rarely visit him. However, I have not forgotten our debt of gratitude to the former lord. Our Senseiden temple was built by him, and he gave us the images of the Sage, the Four Correlates, and the platters and trays, cups and urns [for it]. Down to our descendants we must never neglect this debt. But to visit a feudal lord's halls without some specific reason conveys the impression that one is seeking a favour, so it cannot be helped, though [not paying a call] may seem a discourtesy to the Attendant. I hear that his heir His Lordship the Deputy Commander (Tsunanari) is clever and talented, which is a matter for rejoicing.⁽²¹⁾

From this account we learn that Bōsai, as personal attendant close to Yoshinao, was a witness to many events in the early years of Owari domain. But he was not close to the current ruler, and both he and Gahō were of the view that Mitsutomo had little interest in books and writing.

Bōsai came again from time to time to Gahō's National History Hall, and the two were clearly on good terms. On 1669/7/1 Gahō writes:

Hori Kanbei Sadataka came to visit. In his youth he attended Lord Genkei of Owari (Yoshinao), and he acquired Japanese learning (*Wagaku* 倭學) [from him]. We conversed together for the entire day. We talked of new editions we had seen, or old records; we asked of historical events and discussed matters of the past. He stayed to supper in the evening before departing.⁽²²⁾

From this we learn that Bōsai's command of Japanese learning was acquired under Yoshinao's direction. On 1670/3/20 Gahō says:

Hori Kanbei Sadataka came to visit. In times past Sadataka accompanied Lord Gen of Bishū (Bishū Genkō 尾州源公, Yoshinao), who knew much about the history of Japan,

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 161.

(22) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 4 (Tokyo: Zokugunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1999), p. 30.

and was especially familiar with events of the more recent past. He told [Sadataka] about all of these things one by one.⁽²³⁾

From these accounts we see that Yoshinao was accomplished not only in Confucian learning, but in Japanese learning as well.

A number of other Owari domain scholars appear in Gahō's diary. One of those closest to him was Namikawa Rozan 並河 魯山 (1629–1711). Rozan paid a visit to the National History Hall on 1665/11/26:

This evening a scholar from Biyō, Jikai 自晦 (Rozan) came to pay a first call on me. He had a considerable level of Confucian learning, and was fond of reading the works of Song-dynasty Confucians, which is why he came to visit me. His lord then sent for him, so we had only spoken a little before he departed.⁽²⁴⁾

Namikawa Rozan's personal name was Ken 健, commonly known as Jikai. He was the son of the domain physician, and from the time he was young had his heart set on Confucianism, and studied Zhu Xi's learning under Hori Kyō'an. He was also an accomplished physician. When he reached adulthood he was appointed domain Confucian scholar. He won the trust of the domain ruler Mitsutomo, and became his personal attendant.⁽²⁵⁾

On 1665/12/14 Gahō's diary has:

Late in the afternoon the Owari scholar Namikawa Jikai came, and we spoke for a long while. He did not depart until nearly sundown, when [Hitomi] Yūgen invited him away. As they left, [Rozan] bowed to the Senseiden temple from outside the gates. He gazed on the plaque on it written by his former lord and departed, sighing. It seemed to me that he was very thoughtful.⁽²⁶⁾

Rozan had been entrusted by Mitsutomo with tutoring his son and heir Tsunanari, the future third lord of Owari. In the Genroku period, on Mitsutomo's orders, Rozan built a Confucius shrine in his private school and performed the Sekisai ceremony in it. After his death, his student Adachi Motonaga 安達 元長 continued the sacrifices.⁽²⁷⁾

Despite Gahō's description of cool relations with Mitsutomo, in fact he records that both Mitsutomo and Tsunanari regularly sent messengers to his home to bring

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

(24) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 1, p. 160.

(25) Mombushō 文部省 comp. *Nihon kyōikushi shiryō* 日本教育史資料 vol. 4 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1904), p. 449.

(26) *Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 1, p. 174.

(27) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, p. 95.

greetings and seasonal gifts.⁽²⁸⁾

Relations between the Owari rulers and the Hayashi family continued under Yoshimichi 吉通 (1689–1713; r. 1699–1713), the fourth daimyo of Owari. Yoshimichi was on excellent personal terms with the third Hayashi family head, Gahō's son Hōkō 鳳岡 (1645–1732), the head of the Yushima Seidō school. This is clearly evident from Hōkō's writings. On 1707/5/21 Hōkō writes in his own diary:⁽²⁹⁾

The Attendant of Biyō, Lord Yoshimichi, came to pay his respects at the Hall of the Sage. He presented a money offering and burned incense, bowed, and drank a wine toast. He then entered the school, and I served him soup and wine. The Attendant was pleased. I told him that his great-grandfather Lord Genkei (Yoshinao) had venerated and believed in the Sagely Teachings (Confucianism). In the Kan'ei era (1624–1641) he honoured my grandfather Razan by building the Hall of the Sage at Shinobugaoka, where the sacrifices were performed without lapse. My father continued them, and made the ritual largely complete. Now the Venerable Great Lord (the Shōgun Tsunayoshi) has moved the Hall of the Sage to Shōheizaka, and has personally come to pay his respects with utmost ritual courtesy. All of this is due to the lasting moral influence of Lord Genkei... That [Yoshimichi] has come to pay his respects causes me to dance with joy. On hearing this the Attendant smiled in pleasure, and departed in great delight. After this time the Attendant invited me and [my sons] Shichisaburō 七三郎 and Momosuke 百助, treating us with kindness and warmth.

This passage describes the interaction between the two men shortly after they had first met, when they did not yet know each other well. Hōkō relates to Yoshimichi the story of how Yoshinao had first built the Confucius temple at Shinobugaoka. Yoshimichi's visit to the Yushima Seidō temple was an act signalling his respect for Confucian learning, though so far there has been almost no research by modern scholars on his attitude toward literary education. This is a topic worth further investigation.

In the 10th month of 1707:

The Attendant of Biyō invited me and my two sons, and at his command Shichisaburō lectured on the teachings on human nature in the “Doctrine of the

(28) For example, New Year felicitations in 1666/12/25 (*Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 2, p. 50), a gift of persimmons in 1667/2/2 (*Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 2, p. 75), and a gift of fish in 1667/7/15 (*Kokushikan nichiroku* vol. 2, p. 141). These are only a few of many instances.

(29) All the following passages from Hōkō's diary may be found in his *Jisen* 自撰 (unpaginated autograph ms. of c. 1731 in the Waseda University Library), *ge* 下, under the date indicated.

Mean” (Zhongyong 中庸), and Momosuke on the first section [of the Analects] “Xue er” 學而. Day after day he treated us with generous hospitality.

This passage indicates that Yoshimichi possessed a certain degree of knowledge about Confucian learning.

On 1708/1/29:

Once again the Attendant of Biyō came to pay his respects at the Hall of the Sage. He followed the same rituals as he had the previous year, and he also bowed at the Hall of Shinnō (Shennong 神農). He then entered the school, and I lectured on the first stanza of the “Canon of Yao” (“Yao dian” 堯典) [from the *Shangshu* 尚書]. Shichisaburō and Momosuke lectured on the first two stanzas of the “Doctrine of the Mean”. When they were finished we conversed in familiar fashion, and he served us dinner. Fifty of his samurai were in attendance at this banquet. On the next day we went to offer formal thanks, and he came quickly out to converse with us, and personally gave gifts of an ink stone case and book casket, to seal the eternal friendship between us. From that time we forgot his high station, and he treated me with unparalleled warmth, and Shichisaburō and Momosuke also. He told the three of us to come each month in turn to converse and lecture, and he would host us; we would not be allowed to refuse on account of his high status. There was nothing for it but to obey his command. After our lectures on the Canons, he would accompany us wandering in his gardens, reciting poetry and composing essays. One day he gave Shichisaburō two fine horses, complete with decorated saddle and bridle.

Yoshimichi’s repeated visits to the Yushima Seidō temple are a clear reflection of a strong interest in Confucian learning, as was his request for Hōkō and his two sons to take turns delivering lectures on Confucian texts. Shichisaburō, later known as Nobumitsu 信充, would later succeed Hōkō as the fourth Hayashi family head. There is no indication how long this arrangement continued, or how much teaching actually took place, but at the very least Yoshimichi seems to have taken a keen interest in learning.

On 1713/3/10, just after Yoshimichi’s untimely death, Hōkō writes:

The [new] lord of Owari, Gorōta 五郎太, gave me a gift of items bequeathed by his dead father, the Attendant Yoshimichi, along with gold ingots and a book casket for me, and ingots and ink stone cases for Shichisaburō and Momosuke. The Attendant had been so kind and generous to me and my sons.

Hōkō was deeply saddened by Yoshimichi’s death. The gift of items bequeathed by Yoshimichi could not have been Gorōta’s own idea, since he was only three *sai* at the time, but we can surmise that it must have come at the behest of high-ranking domain

officials, and that the association between Yoshimichi and Hōkō was widely known.

Hōkō's sorrow at Yoshimichi's early death is also reflected in a poem he composed after the event. In the preface to this poem he reminisces about their interactions, which he describes as a continuation of the earlier association between Yoshinao and Razan:

The Lesser Third Grade Minister (Ginsei Kōrokutaifu 銀青光祿大夫) Ryūsaku Genkō 龍作源公 (Yoshimichi), was the great-grandson of the great martial hero Lord Genkei, Marquis of Biyō (Yoshinao), direct kin [to the Shōgun]. As a child [Yoshimichi] succeeded to his family fief and occupied a prominent official position. He maintained the hereditary teachings of his family, displayed the honour of his succession as a great good, and delighted most in being respectful, self-effacing, and mild. Now, on the 26th day of the seventh month, he has passed away in his lordly chamber, at the age of twenty-five *sai*. My grandfather Rin Chū 林忠 (Hayashi Razan) frequented the halls of Lord Kei (Yoshinao), who treated him with utmost kindness, and built for him the Hall of the Sages at Rin Chū's villa, with a stately building and all ritual vessels complete, where [Razan] performed the sacrifices in the middle months of spring and autumn, never missing even one. All of this [could never have happened] were it not for this great deed of Lord Kei's. Lord Ryūsaku (Yoshimichi) followed this former example, generously rising from his couch to treat [me] with kindness and great courtesy. I received great affection from him, and many times I would take along my two sons when lecturing in his presence. Sometimes he would take us to stroll around his gardens; other times he would wander [with us] on the practice ground to observe the swordplay and horsemanship.⁽³⁰⁾

We can find no evidence that the association between Yoshimichi and Hōkō had any direct influence on education in Owari. Yet it cannot be entirely coincidental that approximately thirty years later, during the rule of the eighth lord of Owari, Munekatsu 宗勝, that the first Meirindō school was established, even if only briefly. It is fair to say that starting from the founding ruler Yoshinao, the policies of successive rulers in regard to literary education laid the foundation for the birth of the Meirindō school.

As reflected in the title of this study, the purpose has been to look back to approximately 180 years before the founding of the Meirindō school, starting with the interactions between the first Owari ruler Yoshinao and the Bakufu's first Confucian scholar, and from there to the continuing relations between successive generations of rulers and the Hayashi family members who played a role at the centre of the Bakufu's

(30) *Hōkō Hayashi Sensei zenshū* 鳳岡林先生全集, ed. Tokuda Takeshi 徳田 武 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013) vol. 2, *kan* 28, p. 63.

educational policies.

The relations between Yoshinao and Razan are well known. After that, the relationships of Mitsutomo, Tsunanari, and Yoshimichi with Hayashi Gahō and Hōkō, and what influence these may have had on education in Owari, and in the Bakufu, have not been much studied. The current study has clarified this research topic through an examination of Owari-Hayashi interactions.

As demonstrated above, all of the Owari rulers took an interest in civil education in one form or another. How this manifested in domain institutions, and in particular what links it may have had with the later founding of the Meirindō, are questions to be addressed in a future study.

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Abstract

This study examines the early history of education in Owari domain. Previous accounts of education there concentrate on the Meirindō domain school in the 18th century, with little to say about the earlier history relevant to education going back long before to the early 17th century. This the current study considers through an investigation of the interactions between Owari rulers and successive generations of Hayashi family members, who themselves played a central role in the development of Bakufu education and educational policy. The first-generation Owari lord, Tokugawa Yoshinao, interacted closely with Hayashi Razan, probably from quite early in his life. Most importantly, in 1632 he built a Confucius temple for the new school established by Razan in Shinobugaoka with land and funds provided by the Bakufu. After the death of Yoshinao, his successors Tokugawa Mitsutomo, Tsunanari, and especially Yoshimichi interacted with Hayashi Gahō and Hayashi Hōkō, reflecting a concern for Confucian learning. Yoshimichi in particular befriended Hōkō, and demonstrated a particular interest in the Bakufu's Confucius temple, the Yushima Seidō, consciously following in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Yoshinao who had founded its forerunner long before.